

Gendered Caribbean and Latin American New Immigrant Employment Experiences in New York City

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Article:

I: Introduction

New York City is a "traditional" destination for Caribbean immigrants, with the earliest influx occurring at the turn of the twentieth century (Bogen, 1987; Bryce- Laporte, 1979; Conway, 1989; Richardson 1989). Notably, the post 1965 era has witnessed remarkable growth of Caribbean enclave communities in New York City, with several influxes from the region among the largest of the "Newest New Yorkers" (NYC Department of City Planning, 1992; 1996). In addition, other Latin American immigrant groups have also viewed New York City as an attractive gateway, but their experiences are less well documented. This World City has also undergone considerable economic restructuring in the last twenty years. The dramatic effects of such a fundamental transformation should be reflected in the immigration patterns, and the adjustments natives and immigrants made during the cyclical changes in fortune of the regional economic landscape (Waldinger, 1992; Wright and Ellis, 1996).

Previous scholarship has explored some of the highly interrelated dimensions involving new immigration in New York City: for example, Conway and Cooke (1996); Foner (1987); Grasmuck and Grosfoguel, (1997); Grosfoguel, (1997); Kasinitz, (1992); Model, (1993); Sassen, (1988, 1991); Waldinger, (1986, 1996); Waldinger and Gilbertson, (1994); Wright and Ellis, (1996; 1997) among others. We intend to build upon this rich body of work, to address issues overlooked or only partially treated, and incorporate our own observations drawn from empirical investigation. Hence, we intend to build upon existing research, to explain the gendered-immigration experience more fully, and to compare and contrast Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant employment niche entries with reference to their ethnic and racial diversity. Data limitations prevent the empirical investigation from being extended to incorporate what might be the significant influences behind the differing experiences - the stocks of social and human capital that Caribbean and Latin American immigrant women and men bring with them, the social networks that immigrants utilize, and the social (and racial) class barriers immigrants and minorities face in the metropolitan marketplace. These are research topics for the future.

Conventional wisdoms of immigrant employment patterns and labor force adaptations in United States' metropolitan economies abound, but the majority are built around examinations of immigrant experiences from "traditional" source regions, such as Northwestern Europe, Southern and Eastern Europe, or from specific, "notorious" sending countries, such as Mexico, or China (Farley and Allen, 1989; Gardner, 1991; Kessner and Caroli, 1981; Massey, 1981; Fortes and Bach, 1984; Sassen, 1988). Among Caribbean and Latin American sending societies, Jamaican, Cuban, Dominican and Haitian immigrant employment experiences have received some degree of special attention (Dominguez, 1975; Laguerre, 1979; Palmer, 1995; Portes and Grosfoguel, 1994; Portes and Zhou, 1993). It is common however, to subsume all African (Anglo) -Caribbean experiences under a Jamaican identity, or have Jamaicans as the Commonwealth Caribbean's representative as Grasmuck and Grosfoguel, (1997) chose. Differentiating among many Caribbean and Latin American groups and recasting Caribbean new immigrants' experiences in terms of their non - whiteness, and their common experience with Hispanic-Americans as immigrant people of color confronting a majority Anglo-American viewpoint, broaden the representation and unearth within-group distinctions previously overlooked.

This research examines the differences in employment experiences of cohorts of Caribbean and Latin American women and men who entered the United States as new immigrants, during the five-year periods prior to the 1970, 1980 and 1990 decennial censuses and who were still resident in New York City at the time of enumeration. PUMS data of sampled individuals in the New York City metropolitan area are the source of these data. These 1965-70, 1975-80, and 1985-90 cohorts represent samples of Caribbean and Latin American new immigrants who entered the City's labor market relatively soon after arrival (no longer than five years), and therefore whose employment experiences are at the entrance-stage of their incorporation into the metropolitan work force. This way, longer-term employment experiences of Caribbean and Latin American immigrants who have stayed in New York City and consolidated their employment status over a lengthy period of time are omitted from consideration. Essentially, we are controlling for any long-term "duration of residence" effects which might bias the employment profiles of Caribbean and Latin American new immigrants in a positive direction. In this research we are particularly interested in correctly representing Caribbean new immigrants' experiences during their earliest phases of adjustment and insertion into the City's labor markets. Our inquiry is also concerned with the changing structure of the New York City economy during the period in question, from 1965 to 1990, and how Caribbean and Latin American women and men differ in their abilities to access employment sectors, or change sectors during this earliest phase of adjustment. As the economy of this World City underwent significant transformations, these new immigrants competed both with other new immigrants and resident minorities for their employment footholds. Establishing the structural context is, therefore, the first task.

II: Theoretical Perspectives

A. The Restructuring of a World City: New York., 1950-90.

Earlier phases of immigration into New York City occurred when the city's growth and prosperity enabled it to absorb the thousands who came. Growth and the ever-expanding opportunities the city offered allowed them to adjust, find their niches, find prosperity as well as disappointment and generally helped to attract more to this "gateway" magnet (Bogen, 1987; Foner, 1987). The past forty years, however, have seen New York City undergoing considerable cyclical fluctuations in fortunes and the subsequent major transformation of the city's economic base from a goods-producing economy to a service-based economy - a transformation into one of today's World Cities, serving international as well as national markets and customers. The changes began in the 1950s, as manufacturing sought new locations in the new industrial regions of the south and west coasts of the United States. New York City lost 92,000 jobs between 1950-60, then 181,000 between 1960-70 (Ehrenhalt, 1981). From 1969 to 1977, New York City lost 610,000 jobs. Over 35 per cent were in manufacturing and 15 per cent were losses in midtown office jobs (Tobier, 1979; Wright and Ellis, 1996). The manufacturing losses were uneven however. Two New York City industries - garment assembly and printing and publishing - suffered major declines as internationalization and technological transformations caused many to close their local operations and relocate, while others closed for good.

The late 1960s witnessed the end of an era of Keynesian practices of state-supported regional economies and post-Fordist/Taylorist industrialization, dramatically announced by the Rockefeller administration's declaration of the City's bankruptcy in 1973. The 1973-75 fiscal crisis brought with it mass lay-offs in the public spheres, and further declines in the tax-base as middle-class homeowners abandoned the city for the suburbs. Such harsh medicine had its fiscal silver lining however, since it also acted to stabilize the metropolitan economy, encourage international capital influxes, bring faith back into the investors who saw returns in gentrification and in re-investment of service-based operations, and generally turn this World City around. Employment growth in producer services grew dramatically in the 1970s. There was significant growth in international *ventures*: the number of international banks rose to over 200, foreign purchase of Manhattan real estate reached their highest levels, and the construction of office buildings expanded faster than the national average (Sasson-Koob, 1986).

Accompanying this economic restructuring and re-capitalization of New York City was a re-organization of work regimes in old and new sectors of the economy, a transformation many refer to as post-Fordist (Markusen and Gwiasda, 1994; Sassen, 1986; Waldinger, 1996). The shift to a service-based economy brought about a growth in low-wage jobs and a consequent decline in higher wage jobs. The growth of producer services, and

services in general absorbed growing numbers of residents, nationals and new immigrants, who were either displaced from the manufacturing sector, or squeezed out because of technological innovations in a restructured industrial/ assembly regime. Notably, the established firms of the reputable garment manufacturing industry in New York City fled the city by the 1970s, and Puerto Rican and Dominican Republic workers in these industries could no longer rely on this favored niche (Daponte, 1996). Although a "downgraded manufacturing sector" still found its place in New York City, this "sweat-shop" re-organization scheme depended upon hiring low wage immigrant labor, often unauthorized migrants (Sassen, 1986). Where there was employment available in the re-organized producer services and retailing services it was in the low wage janitorial and maintenance sectors. While construction had always attracted male laborers and absorbed immigrants on entry, this sector and other re-organized opportunities were scarcely substitutes for the higher wage manufacturing jobs that earlier immigrants had taken advantage of in the 1950s and 1960s. The post-1965 era was certainly a different playing field.

The informal sector was one avenue where new immigrants could queue, and many did (Sassen, 1991). Indeed, Sassen-Koob (1986) has argued convincingly that the existence of New York City's international (and globalizing) producer services sector, with its high income workers -- many, high-spending professional cosmopolitans -- generates low wage jobs directly and indirectly through their consumption needs. The result is a massive array of service and retailing firms catering to this consumption. Many practice informal operations and cost-cutting practices, informal domestic and industrial outwork and informal contractual associations with formal firms. Accompanying low cost service and retailing ensembles spring up in enclaves and neighborhoods catering to the low wage labor force. Again, many of these firms are likely to be informal in operation and organization. The onset of the post-Fordist era with its flexible industrial regimes brought about the rapid growth of part-time work and the substitution of temporary agency hires for full-time employees. In some industries it brought the replacement of its high wage union worker force with low wage non-union workers (Waldinger, 1986). New York City's employment landscape offered "different strokes for different folks," it appeared.

On the rebound from 1977 to the present, the New York City economy assumed a prosperous trajectory for high-wage earners in the growing sectors. As befits New York's "World City" status, the international financial sector was in the vanguard of this rebound of fortunes, accounting for approximately 50% of the jobs created between 1977 and 1987. Then, the "Black Monday" Stock Market crash of October 1987 impacted this rosy picture with no less than a three year hiatus. From 1987 to 1990, employment in the city declined, though not as dramatically as in the 1960s and 1970s. Reductions occurred in construction, manufacturing, commerce and producer services (Wright and Ellis, 1996). The city more than recouped these losses in the 1990s, however. The restructured and expanding producer services and "informatics" economy, refueled the fortunes of the city's retailing and entertainment services sectors, and the latter also benefitted from spending extravagances of the swelling numbers of national and international tourists. An apt metaphor for New York City's present bipolar structure of affluence and marginalized urban poverty depicts both fortunate and less-fortunate as players in a World City "consumerscape." However, this latest re-adjustment of the city's economic landscape is beyond our 1965-1990 treatment.

B. Immigration & Ethnicity under Restructuring

How did new immigrants in general respond while these restructuring processes were tearing at the fabric of New York and restructuring its assertive World City identity? Recent work by Wright and Ellis (1996) and their additions to, and refinements of, Waldinger's (1992) theoretical and empirical work on how New York City's ethnic groups fared is very helpful in this regard. Although Wright and Ellis do not distinguish between foreign-born women and men in their analysis, their conclusions on the comparative employment experiences of foreign born black immigrants and immigrant-Hispanics is a valuable first look. Examining the patterns of job change during the turbulent decade of the 1970s of four foreign-born groups in comparison to their native, resident equivalents yields some interesting findings. Major patterns of job losses between 1970-80 for foreign-born whites closely resembled that of native whites, with the foreign born sustaining the largest losses in manufacturing. Losses also were registered in retail trade, personal services and public administration for these

white sub-groups. On the other hand, foreign born black employment grew rapidly during the 1970-80 period. Notably, Caribbean immigrants were seen to have comparative advantages in professional services, followed by manufacturing, the public sector and finance-insurance-real estate (FIRE). Similarly, immigrant-Hispanic (Latin American) groups experienced major employment increases across all economic sectors. On the other hand, African Americans suffered job losses, and employment for native-born Hispanics grew modestly. A final comparison of the employment experiences of foreign-born Asians during the 1970s found this sub-group's experiences following those of the black and Hispanic immigrant groups. Considerable numerical growth occurred, while job growth was positive and more city-wide than the experience of the immigrant-Hispanic group.

Wright's and Ellis' (1996) observations of the changes in job growth and the differing experiences between their four general immigrant groups during the more prosperous 1980s are more helpful and informative for our purpose. Native whites continued to fare relatively poorly, though foreign born whites had even worse job experiences in the 1980s. African Americans, whose fortunes began to fade in the 1970s, continued to experience job losses in the 1980s. Only their protected niche in the public sector which provided native blacks employment opportunities in the 1960s and 1970s remained relatively immune. Conversely, native-born Hispanics experienced a reversal of their 1970's path, and the 1980's decade for them was a period of considerable growth. Their exit from the declining manufacturing sector appeared to be over, as they began to enter in larger numbers the growing services sectors in the city. The employment experiences of foreign born blacks are the most strikingly different from others in the 1980s, however. As Wright and Ellis (1996) observe:

Immigrant blacks gained jobs in every sector analyzed but manufacturing. Most job gains occurred in professional services and the public sector. Similarly, in both decades, foreign born Hispanics gained employment throughout the economy, with the exception of manufacturing. In the 1980s, this group made significant gains in retail trade, personal services, construction and the public sector. The increased employment in the public sector by foreign born blacks (84%) and Hispanics (71%) respectively, stands in sharp contrast to African American job losses. Evidently, in the 1980s, immigrant professionals secured a large niche in the city's bureaucracy, as native-black employment there declined (Wright and Ellis, 1996: 341).

By extension, this finding has relevance to our investigation, because we seek to further disaggregate new immigrant group experiences of Latin Americans, Hispanic- Caribbean and non-Hispanic Caribbean "black" immigrants by gender. Overall, these immigrant groups appear to be finding entrance niches in the restructuring New York City economy, successfully achieving their footholds in comparison to native resident minority groups. Sassen's and Waldinger's work, and more detailed evidence from Wright and Ellis (1996), help clarify the broad labor market picture. It now remains for us to further develop the gendered implications of the Caribbean new immigrant story.

C. Gendered migration experiences

Houstoun et al. (1984) convincingly elevated women immigrants into the spotlight by empirically proving the dominance of women in the circuits of U.S. bound international migration since the 1930s. This was not only a demographic wake-up call, it also posed a challenge to sociology's conventional theories of immigrant assimilation, entrance and modes of social upward mobility which unthinkingly cast such experiences and trajectories as male paths (see Waldinger and Gilbertson, 1994). Making play with Piore's (1979) theoretical explanation of immigrant adaptation in metropolitan America, Morokvasic (1984) reminded us all that "Birds of passage are also women." Now, gendered explanations of international migration are forthcoming (for example, Grasmuck and Grosfoguel, 1997). Among them is one of the authors' contributions which introduces "tied-mover" concerns and the expected transformations of labor force experiences into a fuller explanation of Puerto Rican women's moves between the island and New York City (Conway et al, 1990; Ellis et al, 1996). Other research on Caribbean women's livelihood practices in New York portrays them as both dependent migrants and as independent workers (Gordon, 1990), or as a class of "new female West Indian immigrants" different from

earlier waves. Because of the timing of their moves and their lack of human capital the newest West Indian and Caribbean immigrant women appear to face more problems of adjustment (Bonnett 1990).

New immigrant women's insertion into the New York economy, should not only be distinguished from men's. It must also be framed in spatial and temporal contexts, where the social capital stock of the home community, as well as human capital of the immigrants is recognized as differentiating resource bases (Coleman, 1988; Conway and Cohen, 1998). In addition, the multi-local, transnational field of interaction needs to be accounted for in such explanations of difference. This necessarily entails: 1) the full history of the migration and residential experiences; 2) the changing labor market conditions; 3) the learning processes the migrant women and men undergo while working and moving between island and mainland markets; 4) the family and community networks that serve as essential social and economic cushions and entrees into informal and formal sector jobs; and 5) the day-to-day stresses and strains individuals experience in "the other man's country." Everyday racism is one commentator's assessment of the black new immigrant's experience in today's metropolis (Essed, 1990). All non-white, people of color might expect such daily discrimination, or even the perception of discrimination, to modify their adaptations to New York City life.

When we begin to examine Caribbean new immigrant experiences from such a holistic perspective, heterogeneity is the rule, not homogeneity. Caribbean and Latin American home societies differ remarkably among themselves, demographically, racially, ethnically, in terms of socio-historical legacies -colonialism, plantation society, rigid social class stratification -- in terms of "modernity," identities, nationality, languages and cultural traits, and in terms of North American "cultural" penetration, European class-consciousness, Afro-Caribbean traditions, Hispanic-Caribbean and Latin American influences, and the list goes on. Earlier work by one of the authors specifically examined Puerto Rican women's international migration and repetitive circulation experiences, and an explanatory construct was formulated which incorporated island and mainland structural contexts as well as behavioral dimensions (Conway et al., 1990; Bailey and Ellis, 1993; Ellis et al., 1996). Among these women, "tied-movement" was important to initiate a mainland sojourn, but later moves were prompted by employment motives. On the other hand, women's return moves were more likely to be prompted by non-economic reasons (also see Baerga and Thompson, 1990). The particulars of the Puerto Rican experience were significant in this empirical case, given that their migration status allows them open entry into the United States. Among immigrants from other islands in the Caribbean and elsewhere in Latin America, the institutional barriers screening formal entry make foreign immigration from these neighboring regions a different phenomenon. Different selection criteria influence entry, different legal recruitment practices of foreign labor are practiced, immigrant workers are perceived in different terms than native minorities, and Puerto Ricans, as relatively long-term residents in New York, are differentiated from their Caribbean fellowmen and women, despite being migrants and circulators (Bonilla, 1987; Boswell, 1985; Lowenthal 1976).

As noted earlier, however, most research that differentiates among Caribbean new immigrants recognizes Hispanic-Caribbean, British West Indian or Anglo- Caribbean, and French-Caribbean distinctions, but commonly represents only Jamaicans as British West Indian. Jamaicans are the largest nationality of British West Indians in New York City, to be sure (Foner, 1979, 1986; Palmer, 1995). But, sizeable enclave communities of other West Indian nationalities have been present in the city for a long time (Conway and Bigby, 1983). The rapid growth of new immigrant groups from Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago in the 1990s has recently been noticed (NYC Department of Planning, 1996). Furthermore, the employment experiences of these "other West Indian" new immigrants should not be expected to mirror Jamaicans solely on the basis of their common English-language roots. Women's and men's experiences differ markedly across the Anglo-Caribbean, and one objective of this research is to examine whether these differences matter in New York City.

The experiences of Haitian women and men in New York City also need to be part of the comparative frame. They represent a distinctively different cultural group, yet as predominantly non-white "black" immigrants, they experience the double invisibility that other Black West Indian and Afro-Caribbean immigrants experience: similar racial discrimination, similar everyday racism, similar exclusionary practices (Bryce-Laporte, 1972). In earlier work examining Caribbean peoples' residential clustering in New York City, one of the authors found

that Haitians preferred proximity to Anglo-Caribbean immigrants and lived in common neighborhoods. They tended to avoid Hispanic concentrations (Conway and Bigby, 1983). Grasmuck and Grosfoguel (1997) recognized the comparability of Haitian women's incorporation into the New York economy with that of Jamaicans, alluding to their common stocks of social capital, their initial higher educational attainments, higher occupational levels, and group heterogeneity, when compared to Hispanic- Caribbean experiences of Dominicans and Puerto Ricans. Although in itself a valuable comparison and elaboration of the importance of geopolitical contexts and social capital in determining the different experiences of five groups of Caribbean women in New York City during the 1980s, Grasmuck's and Grosfoguel's (1997) primary contribution is distinguishing the common experiences of Puerto Rican and Dominican women, as they differ from those of the non-Hispanic pair, Jamaicans and Haitians. Their explanation does not dwell upon the distinctions between Haitians and Jamaicans, although tabular evidence suggests cultural distinctions are not the only differences. It is our intention to go further with such within-group comparisons, and in addition compare and contrast variations of men's experiences as well as women's to render a full "gendered" explanation.

III: Specific Objectives

The growing complexity of the circuits of international migration between the Caribbean and North America, the continuing allure of New York City for Caribbean men and women, the long-established family and social networks of connections facilitating Caribbean new immigrants' incorporation and/or accommodation, and the changing structure of New York City's labor markets, are the guiding contexts in which the fortunes of these new immigrant women and men are made. In terms of these immigrants' entry employment experiences, we should expect competition among the sub-groups, selective niche entry and subsequent consolidation. We should also expect to find differences not only between Latin American, Hispanic-Caribbean and (non-Hispanic) Anglo/Afro Caribbean immigrant experiences, but within-group differences too. Also, through the thirty years the City has welcomed and absorbed her newest New Yorkers, we should expect changes between women's and men's experiences, and we should expect changes in success stories.

The waves of Caribbean immigrants moving to the mainland differed over the thirty year period, in part as a consequence of the evolution of the migration stream systems and in part because of changing employment circumstances in the re-structuring World City that is their primary destination, New York City. A gendered explanation will unearth the changing fortunes of new immigrants, and assess the varying niches women and men enter, or are excluded from differentially. Several questions suggest themselves. How have women fared as compared to men in terms of entry into the labor force? Does a Caribbean or West Indian common identity lead to shared experiences, or differing experiences? Do women's and men's experiences change during the cyclical fluctuations of the city's economy in parallel, predictably, or unpredictably? Should we expect post-1965 waves to be female-dominant as a result of the restructured metropolitan economies which seek to recruit female services workers: medical, health practitioners, and domestic service workers? On the other hand, we might expect Caribbean men seeking laboring jobs to suffer under restructuring because of the massive declines in the manufacturing sectors the City has experienced.

Another associated change in New York City has been the influx of other non-white, new immigrant groups from non-traditional sources in Central and South America. These new entrants, still "doubly-invisible" immigrants as are Caribbean entrants (Bryce-Laporte, 1972), add to the heterogeneity of Black, or African-American, and Hispanic-American metropolitan-resident populations in today's changing cultural mosaic (Reid 1986). With such cultural heterogeneity changing the character of metropolitan minority populations, there is merit in comparing the different employment experiences of Caribbean and Latin American new-immigrants who might be similar in ethnic terms but differ in regional, cultural backgrounds. In our comparative frame we distinguish between Latin American new immigrants from Central and South American countries - Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, El Salvador and Panama - as well as include those from the Hispanic-Caribbean - the Dominican Republic and Cuba. These diverse new immigrant groups are compared to the non-Hispanic, Anglo- and Francophone-(Afro-) Caribbean new immigrants - from Haiti and the major Commonwealth Caribbean sending societies of Jamaica, Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados, and a composite group of other small islanders of the West Indies.

A. Data and Research Design

This empirical investigation, therefore, compares the patterns of employment experiences of Latin American and Caribbean new-immigrant women and men on their entrance into the primary and secondary labor markets of a major gateway World City, New York. This gateway global city has an established record as a traditional destination for Caribbean immigrant streams starting as early as the 1880s and continuing throughout the twentieth century, despite legislative restrictions (Conway 1989). Our comparison of Latin American and Caribbean new immigrant's entry experiences in New York City takes advantage of the individual-level detail in the Public Use Microdata Sample A (PUMS) of the 1970, 1980 and 1990 U.S. Censuses, which is a five percent sample of U.S. households. These data provides a wealth of detail on the social and economic characteristics of individuals (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census 1983, 1993). In our focus on entry employment patterns, we draw upon samples of these residents in New York City Proper and examine employment profiles of cohorts of residents who are: (1) men or women; (2) naturalized or resident aliens; (3) have recorded the year of immigration; and (4) recorded a country of birth other than the United States.

The ability to cross-classify these individuals by their place of birth and ethnic origin with occupational status, and distinguish across gender differences provides us with opportunities to examine and compare changes over time of each group's employment experiences on entrance. Labor force participation rates and occupational characteristics are particularly useful for distinguishing among waves of new immigrant men and women from Latin America, the Hispanic-Caribbean and the non-Hispanic (Black/Afro-American) Caribbean. The Labor Force Participation Rate (LFPR) is defined as the percent of the population over the age of 16 who are either employed or searching *for* employment (i.e., in the City's formal labor force). The 1965-70 cohort is restricted to civilians over the age of 16 who immigrated between 1965 and 1970. The following four categories summarize the occupational categories of this earliest cohort of new immigrant groups: "Prof/Tech" are Managerial, Professional Specialty Occupations and Technicians, "Sales/Clerk" are Sales, Administrative Support and Clerical Occupations, "Craft" are Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations, along with Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, and "Serv" are Service Occupations. The succeeding 1975-80 and 1985-90 cohorts are restricted to civilians over the age of 16 who immigrated between 1975 and 1980, and between 1985 and 1990, respectively. The following four categories summarize the occupational categories of these two later cohorts of new immigrant groups: "Mgr/Adm" are Managerial and Professional Specialty Occupations, "Tech/SIs" are Technical, Sales, and Administrative Support Occupations, "Craft" are Precision Production, Craft, and Repair Occupations, along with Operators, Fabricators, and Laborers, and "Serv" are Service Occupations. The three cohorts' occupational strata differ in terms of the upper two categories, and are relatively comparable in terms of the lower two "blue collar" categories. Despite the varying classifications, the three cohorts can still be compared to highlight differences in general employment profiles and in temporal shifts of the proportions across ethnic and origin groups.

As a first step, the general employment patterns for new-immigrant women and men are generated to ascertain whether females dominate flows or vice versa, and whether there are gender differences in employment experiences among groups in successive cohorts, the 1965-70, 1975-80 and 1985-90 waves. Specifically, we examine labor participation rates and compare the proportional representation of sub-groups in the employment categories of the formal sector. These tabulations also allow us to establish whether there are other generalizable distinguishing features among these non-white new-immigrant streams which might suggest they are likely to have different adaptation, accommodation or assimilation experiences. The second step is a comparative analysis of Caribbean women's and men's experiences, contrasting "non-Hispanic Caribbean" (Anglo, Afro-Caribbean and Francophone, Afro-Caribbean) with "Latin American and Hispanic-Caribbean" experiences, and drawing out the diversity of enclave opportunities and employment niches these immigrants access during their first five years of residence in New York City. Particular attention is paid to the changing patterns of employment experiences of Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant women to examine whether the changes through the thirty year period reflect the restructuring imperatives of this World city's labor markets.

Three main questions guide this inquiry. A series of tabulations serve as the frame of reference for answers to the following questions (Tables 1-8).

Q1: Are the flows of Latin American and Caribbean new-immigrants into New York City male- or female-dominant?

Q2: What have been the gendered-employment transitions of Latin American and Caribbean women and men immigrants in New York City since 1965?

Q3: Which employment niches do Caribbean women and men enter and do they differ by ethnicity and origin identities?

B. Analysis

Q1. Are the flows of Latin American and Caribbean new-immigrants into New York City male or female dominant?

The common view, since Houstoun et al.'s (1984) convincing pronouncement of female dominance in U.S. immigrant streams, is that women have taken advantage of the family preference scheme of the immigration legislation. They followed their men and reunited with citizens they married, and they have entered in larger and larger numbers since 1930. Does this hold for the discrete waves of Latin American and Caribbean new immigrants entering New York City? Yes, but with qualifications. Women dominate in the two earlier waves of 1965-70 and 1975-80, but the most recent wave in 1985-90 does not exhibit a gender imbalance (Table 1) Female dominance is less pronounced among groups in the 1965-70 cohort, but is still a general feature of most Caribbean cohorts in this earliest period.

What is noticeable is the major increases in flows during the 1975-80 period, in contrast to earlier and later flows. Women outnumber men considerably in this major wave, regardless of origin identity for this cohort of entrants. Significant majorities of women occur among Dominicans, Colombians, Ecuadorean, and Salvadorean among Latin American Hispanics entering in 1975-80. Significant majorities of women also occur among Jamaicans, Guyanese, Haitians and Barbadians. Unique and contrary to the general trend is the gender imbalance of Panamanians in the 1975-80 wave which is male-dominated at a ratio of 2:1. Venezuelans too do not exhibit female-dominance in their 1975-80 flow (Table 1). In general, this was a period of native job-loss, which perhaps opened opportunities for lower wage immigrants, especially women (Waldinger 1992, 1996; Wright and Ellis 1996, 1997). Native job opportunities in World Cities like Los Angeles and New York were "hollowed- out" for the middle class in favor of higher and lower-end opportunities (Sassen-Koob, 1986; Sassen, 1988, 1991; Waldinger, 1992). Among Latin American new immigrants in the 1985-90 cohort, Ecuadorean and Guatemalan men dominate, and equally balanced flows immigrate from Colombia, Venezuela and Cuba, though their numbers are small. Among non-Hispanic new immigrants in the 1985-90 cohort the same equal representation of women and men generally prevails for Haitians, Trinidadian and Barbadians. Guyanese and Jamaican women exceed men but the overall pattern among these non-Hispanic (Afro-and Indo-Caribbean) groups is one of balance in the gender ratio. Volumes are smaller in this latest wave of entrants from the Americas, suggesting New York City's declining economy of the late 1980s did have a deterrent effect on immigrant intentions. Certainly, the main influx from the region was during the 1975-80 period, making it an entrance wave of significance for Caribbean and Latin American women and men finding their fortunes and establishing themselves in a restructuring New York City (Table 1).

Q2. What have been the gendered-employment transitions of Latin American and Caribbean women and men immigrants in New York City since 1965 ?

Do labor force participation rates vary by Latin American and Caribbean origin identities among men and women? Yes, and the difference is most marked when comparing Latin American and Hispanic-Caribbean experiences of women with their counterparts among non-Hispanic groups (Table 2). One generalization is that

Latin American and Hispanic-Caribbean women do not enter the formal labor force in as large proportions as their Afro-Caribbean counterparts, regardless of the timing of their entrance. However, there appears to have been convergence of Latin American and Caribbean women's labor force experiences. Through time, their participation increases (though their numbers decline considerably), reaching about 70% in most cases. Increasing female labor force participation rates overtime is the general pattern in industrialized countries such as the United States (Evers-Koelman et al, 1987), so this pattern is to be expected for Caribbean new immigrants entering New York City after 1965.

Table 1

**FLOWS OF CARIBBEAN & LATIN AMERICAN WOMEN AND MEN
ENTERING NEW YORK CITY, 1965-70, 1975-80,
1985-90 BY ORIGIN IDENTITY**

Place of Birth	Women			Men		
	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90
<i>Latin-America and Hispanic- Caribbean</i>						
Dominican Republic	625 (15.9%)	2079 (25.5%)	722 (29.6%)	525 (18.9%)	1171 (23.%)	646 (26.5%)
Colombia	440 (11.2%)	700 (8.6%)	316 (13.0%)	272 (9.8%)	381 (7.5%)	321 (13.2%)
Ecuador	305 (7.8%)	695 (8.5%)	164 (6.7%)	220 (7.9%)	372 (7.3%)	280 (11.3%)
El Salvador	20 (0.5%)	271 (3.3%)	95 (1.1%)	5 (0.2%)	161 (3.2%)	76 (3.1%)
Venezuela	70 (1.8%)	74 (0.9%)	28 (1.1%)	40 (1.4%)	78 (1.9%)	27 (1.1%)
Cuba	725 (18.5%)	147 (1.8%)	14 (0.6%)	530 (19.0%)	98 (1.9%)	22 (0.5%)
Guatemala	40 (1.0%)	103 (1.3%)	39 (1.6%)	40 (1.4%)	61 (1.2%)	55 (2.3%)
Panama	85 (2.1%)	77 (0.9%)	46 (1.9%)	55 (2.0%)	154 (3.0%)	36 (1.3%)
Sub-total	2310 (58.8%)	4146 (50.9%)	1424 (58.4%)	1687 (57.6%)	2476 (48.7%)	1463 (60%)

Table 1 Continued

<i>Non-Hispanic Caribbean</i>	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90
Jamaica	710 (18.1%)	1228 (15.1%)	353 (14.5%)	395 (14.2%)	885 (17.4%)	323 (13.3%)
Guyana		830 (10.2%)	311 (12.8%)		520 (10.2%)	294 (12.1%)
Haiti	340 (8.7%)	804 (9.9%)	143 (5.9%)	335 (12.1%)	471 (9.3%)	139 (13.3%)
Trinidad & Tobago	211 (5.4%)	562 (6.9%)	172 (7.0%)	150 (5.4%)	394 (7.8%)	180 (7.4%)
Barbados		300 (3.7%)	34 (1.4%)		180 (3.5%)	33 (1.4%)
B.W.I.	135 (3.4%)			60 (2.2%)		
Caribbean		242 (3.0%)	n.a.		133 (2.6%)	n.a.
Other West Indies	220 (5.6%)			150 (5.4%)		
Bahamas		36 (0.4%)	2 (0.1%)		21 (0.4%)	5 (0.2%)
Sub-total	1616 (41.2%)	4002 (49.1%)	1015 (41.6%)	1090 (39.3%)	2604 (51.2%)	974 (40.0%)
Total	3926 (100%)	8148 (100%)	2439 (100%)	2777 (100%)	5080 (100%)	2437 (100%)

However, the labor force participation rates of non-Hispanic women increases to still remain ahead in the 1985-90 cohort. Indeed, extremely high proportions of Afro-Caribbean, non-Hispanic women appear to have entered the formal labor force in this latest period, 1985-90: notably, Trinidadian (79%), and Guyanese (82%). The temporal record of Haitian women is perhaps the most striking in terms of changing participation rates. In the 1965-70 Haitian cohort only 37% of these new immigrant women entered the formal labor force. This proportion then rose to 51% among 1975-80 immigrants, and increased to 76% among the 1985-90 entrants to equal Haitian men in their participation rate.

On the other hand, Jamaican women exhibited a different, more gradual set of changes. In the wave entering in 1965-70, the Jamaican cohort exhibited the highest labor force participation rate among the non-Hispanic groups - 63%. Other West Indian women's rates were in the mid-50% ranges. In the 1975-80 Jamaican cohort their participation rate stayed approximately the same at 61%. It increased to 77% among the 1986-90 cohort, but was surpassed by other West Indian new immigrant women. It was also matched by several Latin American women's participation rates in this latest period, namely the Ecuadorean (77%), Salvadoreans (79%), Panamanians (78%) (Table 2).

Table 2

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF CARIBBEAN & LATIN-AMERICAN WOMEN AND MEN ENTERING NEW YORK CITY, 1965-70, 1975-80, 1985-90 BY ORIGIN/IDENTITY

Origin	Women			Men		
	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90
<i>Latin American and Hispanic-Caribbean</i>						
Dominican Republic	39%	49%	69%	54%	76%	76%
Colombia	40%	54%	69%	72%	80%	85%
Ecuador	44%	38%	77%	55%	74%	89%
El Salvador	80%	42%	79%	100%	59%	91%
Venezuela	29%	46%	46%	37%	46%	75%
Cuba	33%	34%	92%	58%	56%	58%
Guatemala	50%	43%	88%	75%	88%	94%
Panama	41%	47%	78%	45%	61%	73%
<i>Average (X)</i>	<i>44.5%</i>	<i>44%</i>	<i>75%</i>	<i>63%</i>	<i>67.5%</i>	<i>81%</i>
<i>Non-Hispanic Caribbean</i>						
Jamaica	63%	51%	77%	56%	66%	75%
Guyana		54%	82%		72%	86%
Haiti	37%	51%	76%	61%	73%	77%
Trinidad & Tobago	50%	55%	79%	67%	65%	80%
Barbados		55%	90%		72%	76%

Table 2 (continued)

	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90	1965-70	1975-80	1985-90
B.W.I.	56%			83%		
Other Caribbean		62%	n.a.		75%	n.a.
Other West Indies	59%			57%		
Bahamas		44%	100%		71%	66%
<i>Average (X)</i>	<i>53%</i>	<i>55%</i>	<i>84%</i>	<i>65%</i>	<i>70.5%</i>	<i>77%</i>

Caribbean and Latin American immigrant men's labor force participation rates demonstrate more similarities than differences, on the other hand (Table 2). In the 1965-70 period, both Hispanic- and non-Hispanic groups have average participation rates in the 63-65% range, exceeding their women's rates by a considerable margin. While the non-Hispanic Caribbean immigrants' rate increases to over 70% in the 1975-80 period, the Latin American and Hispanic-Caribbean group rate increases more modestly to 67.5%. Both exhibit increases during the latest period, 1985-90, but the Hispanic men's rate passes that of the non-Hispanic group, reaching 81%. When compared to their women cohorts, the Hispanic men exhibit higher labor force participation rates (81% to 75%, respectively), while non-Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean men have lower participation rates (77% to 84%, respectively). All are high in this latest period when compared to their 1965-70 rates, suggesting that both men and women are responding to the restructured New York City economy, with majorities seeking employment in the formal sector. Fewer are staying unemployed or not seeking employment (Table 2).

Q3. Which employment niches do Caribbean women and men enter and do they differ by ethnicity and origin identities?

Previous research by Grasmuck and Grosfoguel (1997) noted the different incorporation experiences of Hispanic-Caribbean women such as Cubans and Dominicans when compared to Jamaican and Haitian women's experiences in New York City during the 1980s. Our new immigrant women's occupational profiles should reflect similar cultural distinctions, and they do.

There are changes through time, from 1965 to 1990, however. Among non-Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean women in the 1965-70 wave, employment in the service sectors predominate (Table 3). At this earlier time there are significant proportions of Jamaicans, British West Indians and "Other West Indians" in higher order "white collar" occupations in the sales and clerical sectors.

By contrast, Latin American and Hispanic Caribbean women's employment profiles of the 1965-70 waves differ markedly among themselves. Dominicans, Colombians and Ecuadoreans concentrate in laboring "craft" occupations. Salvadoreans are highly concentrated in services, like the West Indians. Guatemalans and Panamanians on the other hand concentrate in sales and clerical occupations. None gained access into professional or technical sectors during this period, irrespective of origin identity (Table 3).

TABLE 3: EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF 1965-1970 CARIBBEAN AND LATIN-AMERICAN FEMALE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1970 BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Occupations of Labor Force (as % of Total) Formally Employed								
Place of Birth	LFPR ¹	Prof/Tech	Sales/Cler	Craft	Services	(Total)	Unemployment	Total
<i>Latin American & Hispanic-Caribbean</i>								
Dominican Republic	39%		0% (31)	13% (200)	82% (12)	5% (243)	(381)	(625)
Colombia	40%	2% (4)	37% (66)	55% (97)	5% (9)	(176)	(264)	(440)
Ecuador	44%	4% (6)	15% (21)	58% (79)	23% (31)	(137)	(171)	(305)
El Salvador	80%	0	0	25% (4)	75% (12)	(16)	(4)	(20)
Venezuela	29%	25% (5)	25% (5)	25% (5)	25% (5)	(20)	(50)	(70)
Cuba	33%	9% (22)	24% (58)	42% (102)	24% (58)	(240)	(486)	(725)
<i>Non-Hispanic Caribbean</i>								
Jamaica	63%	11% (50)	32% (1420)	6% (28)	51% (227)	(447)	(263)	(710)
British West Indies	56%	44% (51)	22% (26)	4% (5)	30% (35)	(117)	(59)	(135)
Haiti	37%	0	25% (310)	35% (44)	40% (51)	9126)	(214)	(340)
Trinidad & Tobago	50%	10% (11)	27% (29)	10% (11)	52% (55)	(106)	(105)	(211)
Other West Indies	59%	3% (4)	46% (59)	12% (15)	39% (51)	(129)	(90)	(220)

It is in the next 1975-80 wave of women's immigration that the two groups' experiences become distinctly different (Table 5). All the Latin American women, except Venezuelans and Panamanians, are concentrated in the laboring and craft sectors, with secondary concentrations in services. Over 70% of Dominican and Ecuadorean women hold laboring and craft occupations, while 67% of Guatemalans do the same. As many urban women are in technical and sales occupations as in laboring and crafts (36% respectively), and Venezuelans and Panamanians are concentrated in technical and sales sectors. Few Latin American or Hispanic-Caribbean women achieve entry into the managerial and professional sectors of employment in New York City during the 1975-80 period, continuing the trend observed earlier. The experiences of the 1975-80 non-Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean group differ, considerably. Jamaican and Barbadian women are now more heavily concentrated in the services sector - 45% and 47% respectively - but their occupational profile is bi-polar with a secondary concentration in technical and sales occupations: Jamaicans with 36% and Barbadians with 32%. Trinidadians and Guyanese women also are bi- polar in occupational profile: 46% and 39% in technical and sales sectors,

and 38% and 30% in services, respectively. It is Haitian women who differ most within this 1975-80 entry group since they concentrate in the laboring craft sector at 39%, have a secondary concentration in services, and much fewer in the higher order, technical and sales categories (Table 5).

Table 4: EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF 1965-70 CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN MALE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1970 BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Occupations of Labor Force (as % of Total)								
Formally Employed								
Place of Birth	LFPR	Prof/Tech	Sales/Cler	Craft	Services	(Total)	Unemployed	Total
<i>Latin American & Hispanic-Caribbean</i>								
Dominican Republic	64%	1% (5)	6% (21)	58% (194)	34% (115)	(335)	(189)	(525)
Colombia	72%	8% (16)	18% (35)	54% (105)	20% (40)	(196)	(76)	(272)
Ecuador	55%	3% (4)	3% (4)	67% (79)	26% (31)	(118)	(99)	(220)
El Salvador	100%	0	0	100% (5)	0	(5)	(0)	(5)
Guatemala	75%	0	17% (5)	83% (25)	0	(30)	(10)	(40)
Panama	45%	0	40% (10)	20% (5)	40% (10)	(25)	(30)	(55)
<i>Non Hispanic Caribbean</i>								
Jamaica	56%	11% (24)	27% (59)	45% (99)	16% (36)	(218)	(174)	(395)
British West Indies	83%	0	20% (10)	40% (20)	40% (20)	(50)	(10)	(60)
Haiti	61%	10% (20)	19% (40)	51% (104)	19% (40)	(204)	(131)	(335)
Trinidad & Tobago	67%	26% (26)	26% (26)	48% (49)	0%	(101)	(49)	(150)
Other West Indies	57%	18% (15)	41% (34)	23% (19)	18% (15)	(83)	(65)	(150)

Differences in occupational profiles continue for the latest 1985-90 wave of non-Hispanic Caribbean women (Table 7). Notably, they are no longer entering service jobs in appreciable proportions, and appear to be finding employment in technical and service sectors. A greater number (and higher proportions) are making it into the managerial and administration category Jamaicans 17% and Trinidadians 10%), although a small number of Venezuelans appear to mirror this successful experience. Waldinger (1996) found Jamaicans favoring employment in the expanding health sector of the city, and our research appears to substantiate this not only for that Afro-Caribbean nationality but others too. Jamaican women at 41% and 35% in technical and sales and laboring/crafts respectively, are less successful than Trinidadian, Barbadian and Guyanese women who concentrate in these two sectors in the following respective proportions: Trinidadians, 46% and 37%; Barbadians, 64% and 19%; and Guyanese, 53% and 27%. Even Haitian women if this latest cohort are avoiding the services sector, and finding employment in laboring (47%) and technical and sales occupations (29%). Among the Latin American women entering during 1985-90, only Colombians and Panamanians emulate the upward transitions of occupational profiles of the Haitians with technical and sales proportions of 28% and 33% respectively, and 41% and 36% in services. Other Latin American women are still heavily concentrated in laboring and craft occupations - for example, Salvadoreans at 48% and Guatemalans at 68%. However,

Dominicans and Ecuadoreans have not maintained this blue collar tradition (Table 7). More of these two women groups are entering the services sector again, apparently in response to declining opportunities in the City's garment industry where laboring opportunities had been open for them earlier (see Daponte, 1996 which confirms this).

Table 5: EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF 1975-80 CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN FEMALE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1980 BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Occupations of Labor Force (as % of Total)									
Formally Employed				Self Employed					
Place of Birth	LFPR	Mgr/Adm	Tech/Sls	Craft	Serv	Self Employed	(Total)	Unemployment	Total
<i>Latin American & Hispanic-Caribbean</i>									
Dominican Republic	49%	2% (20)	10% (100)	74% (738)	13% (9130)	1% (10)	(998)	(1081)	2,079
Colombia	54%	3% (11)	16% (60)	54% (202)	25% (94)	3% (11)	(378)	(322)	700
Ecuador	38%	5% (13)	18% (47)	70% (183)	8% (21)	0	(264)	(431)	695
El Salvador	42%	11% (12)	11% (12)	53% (60)	26% (30)	0	(114)	(157)	271
Venezuela	46%	9% (3)	55% (19)	18% (6)	18% (6)	0	(34)	(40)	74
Cuba	34%	9% (4)	36% (18)	36% (18)	18% (36)	0	(50)	(97)	147
Panama	47%	5% (7)	46% (63)	22% (30)	27% (37)	0	(36)	(41)	77
<i>Non-Hispanic Caribbean</i>									
Jamaica	61%	9% (67)	36% (270)	10% (75)	45% (337)	0	(749)	(479)	1,228
Guyana	54%	5% (22)	39% (175)	23% (103)	30% (134)	2% (14)	(448)	(382)	830
Haiti	51%	4% (16)	21% (86)	39% (160)	35% (144)	1% (4)	(410)	(394)	804
Trinidad & Tobago	55%	8% (25)	46% (142)	7% (22)	38% (117)	1% (3)	(309)	(253)	562
Barbados	55%	10% (16)	32% (53)	10% (16)	47% (78)	1% (2)	(165)	(135)	300
Caribbean (n.e.c.)	62%	10% (15)	38% (57)	10% (15)	42% (63)	1% (2)	(150)	(92)	242
Bahamas	44%	25% (4)	75% 12	0	0	0	(16)	(20)	36

How do male new immigrants fare in comparison? Do they enter different niches? Are they as successful as their women in formal employment access? Our comparative data shows that Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant men are concentrated in the lower occupational categories, the laboring and services sectors in the earlier two periods (Tables 4 and 6).

Yet, higher proportions of these new immigrant men are found in managerial and professional sectors than women, especially among non-Hispanic groups entering during the 1965-70 and 1985-90 periods: Trinidadians, "other West Indians" and Jamaicans during 1965-70, and Guyanese, Trinidadians and Barbadians during 1985-

90 (see Tables 4 and 8). There are fewer differences between Hispanic and non-Hispanic men in terms of their laboring concentrations, and less changes through time. However, here does appear to be a shift in occupational concentration during the latest period, 1985-90, with several groups now concentrating in the services sector, with fewer proportionally finding laboring and craft employment. Notable "losers" in this late-1970s to late-1980s transition appear to be Dominican, Colombian, Ecuadoran, and Salvadoran men, among the Latin American/Hispanic group, and Jamaican, Haitian and Trinidadian men among the non-Hispanic/Afro-Caribbean group. Only Panamanian and Barbadian men seem to be still finding opportunities in their familiar middle-level, occupational categories among the 1985-90 wave of Latin American and Caribbean new immigrant men (Table 8).

Table 6: EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF 1975-80 CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN MALE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1980 BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Occupations of the Labor Force (as % of Total)									
Non-Self Employed Self Employed									
Place of Birth	LFPR	Mgr/ Adm	Tech/Sls	Craft	Serv	Self Employed	Total Employed	Unem ployed	Total
<i>Latin- American & Hispanic-Caribbean</i>									
Dominican Republic	76%	3% (27)	9% (80)	63% (561)	23% (205)	2% (17)	(890)	(281)	1,171
Columbia	80%	9% (27)	17% (52)	50% (152)	22% (67)	1% (7)	(305)	(76)	381
Ecuador	74%	2% (6)	11% (30)	52% (143)	32% (88)	2% (8)	(275)	(97)	372
El Salvador	59%	0	11% (10)	63% (60)	26% (25)	0	(95)	(66)	161
Venezuela	46%	33% (12)	33% (12)	17% (6)	0	17% (6)	(36)	(42)	78
Cuba	56%	17% (9)	22% (12)	39% (21)	22% (12)	0	(55)	(43)	98
Guyana	72%	9% (34)	32% (120)	37% (139)	18% (67)	4% (15)	(375)	(145)	520
Haiti	73%	4% (14)	18% (62)	59% (203)	16% (55)	2% (10)	(344)	(127)	471
Trinidad & Tobago	65%	9% (23)	25% (64)	48% (123)	15% (38)	3% (8)	(256)	(138)	394
Barbados	72%	5% (7)	28% (36)	43% (56)	25% (33)	0	(130)	(50)	180
Caribbean (n.e.c.)	75%	7% (7)	16% (16)	58% (58)	14% (14)	5% (5)	(100)	(33)	133
Bahamas	71%	0	0	80% (12)	20% (3)	0	(15)	(6)	21

In retrospect, it appears that new immigrant men from the Caribbean and Latin America have not enjoyed the same diverse opportunities that women from their region experienced in the restructured metropolitan labor market of this World City. Both genders sought formal sector employment in larger proportions during the latest two waves of entry into New York City. For many women their experience has translated itself into employment in diverse sectors, some even accessing higher order occupations in the technical and professional fields. Gender-bias still persists however, among these new immigrant groups in terms of men's differential and preferential access to managerial and administrative jobs. This is more noticeable when comparisons are made

between non-Hispanic Caribbean men and women from Trinidad, Guyana and Jamaica. Apparently, for these new immigrants higher order employment is possible to access in New York City, but for women there is a "ceiling", limiting their participation in the highest category.

Table 7: EMPLOYMENT PATTERN OF 1985-90 CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN FEMALE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1990 BY PLACE OF BIRTH.

Occupations of Labor Force (as % of Total)								
Formally Employed								
Place of Birth	LFPR	Mgr/ Adm	Tech/ Sls	Craft	Serv	Total Employed	Unemployed	Total
<i>Latin American & Hispanic Caribbean</i>								
Dominican Republic	69%	7% (33)	27% (136)	26% (128)	40% (201)	(498)	(224)	722
Colombia	69%	6% (13)	28% (60)	41% (91)	25% (54)	(218)	(98)	316
Ecuador	77%	4% (5)	27% (34)	29% (36)	40% (51)	(126)	(38)	164
El Salvador	79%	9% (7)	25% (19)	48% (36)	17% (13)	(75)	(20)	95
<i>Non-Hispanic Caribbean</i>								
Jamaica	77%	17% (47)	41% (112)	35% (96)	6% (17)	(272)	(81)	353
Guyana	82%	8% (20)	53% (138)	27% (69)	11% (28)	(255)	(56)	311
Haiti	76%	8% (3)	29% (34)	47% (54)	16% (18)	(109)	(34)	143
Trinidad & Tobago	79%	10% (14)	46% (63)	37% (51)	6% (8)	(136)	(36)	172
Barbados	90%	6% (2)	64% (20)	19% (6)	10% (3)	(31)	(3)	34
Caribbean (n. e. c.)	n.a.							
Bahamas	100%	0	50% (1)	0	50% (1)	(2)	(0)	2

Perhaps this gendered-ceiling is because of the differential levels of educational attainment between men and women in their countries of origin, perhaps it is because there are social and cultural mores that inhibit these Caribbean new immigrant women from openly competing with their men? Perhaps there is gender-bias in the professional marketplace, where such Afro- or Indo-Caribbean minority women are disadvantaged when in competition with the majority - white women, and both are disadvantaged in respect to minority, or majority, men when seeking access to higher offices, to managerial positions and so forth? Despite the last musing, Caribbean and Latin American women' experiences appear to reflect successful transitions rather than faltering trajectories. Interestingly, among the Hispanic groups, the experiences of Guatemalan men and women appear most similar, regardless of the period of entry, and among the non-Hispanic, the same can be said for Haitian men and women. Other Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant groups' gendered transition experiences have differed through time.

IV: Conclusions

Given the limitations posed by the lack of availability of comparative data, this comparison of post-1965 gendered transitions in New York City has unearthed some interesting findings on a "doubly-invisible" class of ethnic minorities.

(Bryce-Laporte, 1972; Garcia, 1986; Longres, 1974): namely, immigrant people of color from the Caribbean, from Hispanic-Caribbean and Latin America. New York has been traditional gateway for Caribbean immigrants and circulators Conway 1989, 1990; Conway et al, 1990), and it continues to be an attractive destination for the region's people. Although often overlooked, Latin Americans from Central and South America are also a growing presence in the City. Today, New York City is remarkably ethnically diverse and is a multi-cultural, city. As a major World City, it is a metropolis of contrasts, of affluence and poverty, and a cosmopolitan "consumerscape"- one of the upper hierarchy of today's global network of international cities. Here we have examined the gendered transitions of a diverse group of Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant women and men as they entered formal employment niches, and adapted to their new situations in this restructuring metropolis. Such an ethnically-diverse comparison of non-white, new immigrant entrant's experiences has not been attempted prior to this study.

Table 8: EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS OF 1985-90 CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICAN MALE IMMIGRANTS IN NEW YORK CITY IN 1990 BY PLACE OF BIRTH

Occupations of Labor Force Formally Employed								
Place of Birth	LFPR	Mgr/Adm	Tech/Sls	Craft	Serv	Total employed	Unemployed	Total
<i>Latin-American & Hispanic Caribbean</i>								
Dominican Republic	76%	6% (29)	23% (113)	18% (87)	53% (262)	(491)	(1550)	646
Colombia	85%	8% (22)	16% (44)	20% (54)	56% (153)	(273)	(48)	321
Ecuador	89%	4% (3)	14% (35)	32% (79)	51% (126)	(249)	(31)	280
El Salvador	91%	4% (3)	9% (6)	38% (26)	49% (34)	(69)	(7)	76
Venezuela	75%	25% (5)	33% (7)	17% (3)	25% (5)	(20)	(7)	27
Cuba	68%	7% (1)	7% (1)	20% (3)	66% (10)	(15)	(7)	22
Guatemala	94%	4% (2)	14% (7)	22% (11)	64% (32)	(52)	(3)	55
Panama	73%	4% (1)	38% (10)	35% (9)	23% (6)	(26)	(10)	36
<i>Non-Hispanic Caribbean</i>								
Jamaica	75%	9% (71)	29% (71)	16% (38)	46% (112)	(242)	(81)	323
Guyana	86%	12% (31)	27% (69)	21% (52)	40% (101)	(253)	(41)	294
Haiti	77%	7% (8)	25% (27)	26% (28)	46% (44)	(107)	(32)	139
Trinidad & Tobago	80%	12% (17)	9% (27)	22% (32)	47% (68)	(144)	(36)	180
Barbados	76%	16% (4)	32% (8)	28% (7)	24% (6)	(25)	(8)	33
Caribbean (n.e.c.)	n.a.							
Bahamas	66%	33% (1)	33% (1)	0	33% (1)	(3)	(2)	5

Answering the three main questions posed earlier, suggests a confirmation of our a priori expectations and points the way to further inquiry and analysis. Yes, there have been transitions to greater participation in formal labor markets among the inflows of Caribbean and Latin American immigrants arriving and residing in New York City since 1965. There were gender distinctions apparent in earlier waves of these new immigrants to New York City, with women decidedly in the majority in the 1975-80 influx. In the latest 1985-90 wave, however, the gender proportions are more balanced.

There were discernable differences of entry-employment experiences in the earlier two waves of Hispanic and non-Hispanic immigrant sub-populations, but the lack of consistency in the 1970 and 1980/1990 PUMS enumerations of occupational categorization limit a more rigorous attempt at temporal comparisons in the resultant occupational structures. Gender differences were considerable, but the most striking comparison was between Latin American, (and Hispanic-Caribbean) and non-Hispanic Caribbean women: the latter's employment experiences reflecting "success" for most of these Anglo-Caribbean "black" sub-groups. Women's employment experiences were more varied than men's, most noticeably differing by origin identity among the Latin American group. The bipolarity in entry employment profiles of many of these groups' women is a generalizable characteristic worthy of note, with many Caribbean new immigrant women entering both high and low sectors on arrival or soon afterwards.

On the other hand, the most recent shifts in occupational concentrations among non-Hispanic (Black, Afro-American)

Caribbean men appear in line with other commentary which has observed a changing trend from "ghetto elite to service sector opportunities" for such new immigrants (Kasinitz, 1988). New immigrant men from the Caribbean and Latin America, it appears, are not so successful as women in the most recent era, 1985-90. Other commentary on Hispanic immigrant experiences has mirrored a similar restructuring of occupational opportunities for later waves to New York City (Sassen-Koob, 1986; Sassen, 1990). Our evidence of the changing experiences of the 1985-90 wave of new immigrant men from the Caribbean and Latin America, suggests they are having to rely on entry into service sector jobs. The laboring opportunities which were more open to earlier waves are no longer available, and access to technical and sales employment is not occurring. Both Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant men rather than women have suffered from New York City's restructured labor markets. This is further substantiation that there is significance in rendering a full gendered account when assessing immigrant adaptations to metropolitan labor market fluctuations, as we have done.

We can perhaps offer further conjectural advice on the processes contributing to the differing patterns of employment experiences of Latin American and Caribbean new immigrant women and men. Access to employment in the upper-level technical and managerial sectors is common among some Latin American groups, although the Hispanic Caribbean Dominicans fare poorly in this regard. While Jamaicans appear to be losing their access to the upper sectors in the most recent wave, Trinidadian and Guyanese are increasing their presence in these same sectors. Haitian women are faring slightly better than their men, but not reaching the representative levels of their Anglo, Afro-Caribbean sisters and brothers. Despite the fluctuating fortunes of the New York City economy, these new immigrant cohorts demonstrate a consistency of employment access in the three waves that suggests they are entering such niches using social networks, and immigrant/ethnic recruitment mechanisms. The decline in the size of the latest wave is not surprising given the changing health of the New York City economy in the late 1980s. Quite possibly, not only did this downturn in the regional economy stifle entry, but it also would encourage more return migration, and movement to other metropolises such as Miami, or perhaps to alternative more-promising metropolises, such as Atlanta. This latter suggestion is based on some limited anecdotal evidence, but Atlanta appears to hold some attraction to West Indians, in part because of the less-stressful racial situation in that newly-emergent city of the "New South." Cubans, on the other hand, have come to prefer Miami, and our data show their presence in New York City diminishing in recent times.

This gendered account of a wider group of Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant women and men and their entry experiences has both built upon the earlier work of Grasmuck and Grosfoguel (1997), Waldinger (1992, 1996) and Wright and Ellis (1996) and provided additional findings on gender distinctions and divergent and convergent employment patterns of "non-traditional" immigrants entering New York City's labor markets during the period from 1965-1990. Our depiction of discrete waves of entrants offers a clearer picture of the experiences of these immigrants accessing their employment niches in this restructuring "gateway metropolis." There is considerable diversity in experience, which was to be expected, but women appear to be the successful gender, and men the disappointed, or disadvantaged gender in the final analysis. Other data would have to be

sought to unravel the causal mechanisms contributing to these divergent fortunes. PUMS data, derived from decennial censuses, can only help enumerate the differences in patterns of entry into formal sector employment niches. Nevertheless, our comparative analysis has unearthed some significant trends, and demonstrated that future research must take note of the growing diversity of Caribbean and Latin American new immigrant groups, their adaptations to the changing structures of New York City's labor markets, and their transnational practices.

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